LOCALITY VALUES WITHIN DETERMINATION OF REGIONAL HEAD SELECTION IN INDONESIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF STRUGGLE

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Abstract

This study aims to obtain a picture of how locality values are crucial in the selection of regional elections in Indonesia. In Indonesia, the mechanism for determining Regional Head Candidates (Governors, Regents and Mayors) is done in two ways. Political parties select first candidates for regional heads. Second, candidates for independent regional heads, namely candidates for regional heads who volunteered individually. Specifically for regional heads selected by political parties, the Regional Leadership Council is only entitled to propose the names of candidates to the Central Board of Governors (DPP) of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. The final decision is in the hands of the DPP. However, the Central Executive Board always observes the aspirations that develop in the regions and the values of locality in the area's people. The research method uses the case study method in a single setting. The paradigm used is constructive/interpretive with a qualitative approach. Data analysis was carried out thematically. The findings of this study is that the mechanism of selection for candidates of regional head has to meet the basic criteria and follow some designated steps in each hierarchy of the organizational structure management. In accordance with the organizational procedures, selection and nomination of candidates for regional heads must follow the processes of negotiation and coordination on each hierarchical level, be them on branch level (Branch Board), Regional level (Regional Board) and central level (Central Board in Jakarta). The final decision for nominating candidate rests fully on the authority of the Central Board. The Branch Board and the Regional Board only have the duty to recruit prospective candidates, but final decision for nomination was made by the Central Board. The top-level decision was final and binding for all members of the organization.

Key words : Local values, political party's role, decision making, democratic values, constituent votes

INTRODUCTION

The third simultaneous Elections of Regional Head (known as *Pilkada*) carried out in 2018 were followed by eighteen regents/cities all over East Java Province. The eighteen local governments include such regents as Probolinggo, Sampang, Bangkalan, Bojonegoro, Nganjuk, Pamekasan, Tulungagung, Pasuruan, Magetan, Madiun, Lumajang, Bondowoso, Jombang, and municipalities such as Malang, Mojokerto, Kediri, Madiun, and Probolinggo.

This research closely examines the selection processes within the *PDI-Perjuangan* in the Election of Regional Head in 2018. The Election in Kediri City, East Java, in 2018 was officially followed by 3 pairs of candidates, i.e. Abdullah Abu Bakar-Lilik Muhibbah– incumbent candidates–who were nominated by *Partai PAN* (National Message Party) and *Partai Nasdem* (National Democratic Party); Aizzudin Abdurahman-Sujono who were nominated by *Partai PKB* (National Revival Party), *Partai Golkar* (Functional Group Party), and *Partai Gerindra* (Great Indonesia Party), as well as the pair of candidates Samsul AsharTeguh Juniadi who were nominated by the *PDI-Perjuangan* and *Partai Hanura* (People's Conscience Party).

Compared to other political parties in Kediri, the *PDI-Perjuangan* was fully dynamic in between nominating on its own or nominating in a coalition with other political parties. This was attributable to the Regional People's Representative Assembly of Kediri municipality that was represented by only 4 members from the *PDI-Perjuangan*. So, in order to meet the minimal representative threshold of 20%, the the *PDI-Perjuangan* had to be in a coalition with another political party. It was just shortly before the closing of registration that there was an agreement that the the *PDI-Perjuangan* had to be in a coalition with *Partai Hanura* (People's Conscience Party).

Nationally, it has been true from one General Election to another, that the *PDI-Perjuangan* won the most seats. For instance, in the 1999 General Election, it successfully obtained 151 seats. In the 2005 General Legislative Election, the *PDI-Perjuangan*'s seats went down to the second level, as many as 109 seats. In the 2009 General Legislative Election, the *PDIPerjuangan*'s votes went down again to the third level with as many as 94 seats. However, in the 2014 General Legislative Election, the *PDI-Perjuangan* successfully won the first level by winning votes as high as 18.95% and obtained as many as 109 seats in the People's Representative Assembly.

Since nomination of mayor candidate is on the local level, so it has to be in accordance with the obtained seats in the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPRD* (the Local People's Representative Assemby) in the concerned area. In the period of 2014-2019, the *PDIPerjuangan*'s seats in the legislative institution on the local level is less than 20%; therefore, it has to be in a coalition with another party if it wants to nominate a pair of candidates in the election of regional head.

The purpose of the research was to see how the patterns of communication in the decision was made within the *PDI-Perjuangan*. The decision making within the political party was at least accommodated on the three levels of executive boards of the party, i.e. *DPC* (*Dewan Pimpinan Cabang*; Branch Executive Board), *DPD* (*Dewan Pimpinan Daerah*; Regional Executive Board), and *DPP* (*Dewan Pimpinan Pusat*; Central Executive Board). The pattern of communication in decision-making was of interest to study on account of various considerations that must be negotiated and coordinated prior to the political party's issuance of support to the pair of candidates who would run in the election of regional head. This research also examines how communication was carried out by related institutions within the *PDIPerjuangan*, such as *Dewan Pertimbangan Pusat* (*DPP*; Central Advisory Council), *Dewan Pertimbangan Daerah* (*DPD*, Local Advisory Council) as

well as *Dewan Pertimbangan Cabang* (*DPC*, Branch/Provincial Advisory Council) in making a decision in the Election of Regional Head in Kediri municipality and East Java Province.

In the case of the election of Mayor of Kediri, the *PDI-Perjuangan* nominated the pair of Ashar-Juniadi to run for mayor and deputy mayor. Samsul Ashar used to be a former Mayor of Kediri in the period of 2009-2014. However, in the election of 2014, Samsul Ashar was defeated by Abu Bakar, a former deputy who also run for the mayor. In the elections of 2018 Regional/Provincial Head in East Java, the *PDI-Perjuangan* supported Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) as a candidate for governor and Puti Guntur Soekarno as a candidate for deputy governor. The issuance of these names for candidacy was worth of interest on account of various alternatives and considerations circulating within the internal political party.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Locality Value

Local wisdom has a variety of functions. According to Sartini (2006) the function of local wisdom includes eight things, namely: 1. Functioning for the conservation and preservation of natural resources. 2. Functioning for human resource development. 3. Functioning for the development of culture and sciences. 4. Functioning as advice, belief, literature and taboo. 5. Social significance such as communal / relatives integration ceremony. 6. Socially meaningful, for example at agricultural recycling ceremonies. 7. Meaningful of ethics and morals. 8. Decision-making within the organization

Decision-making is a social action and communication need. Organizational decision making is a strategic action and oriented to successful problem-solving (Habermas, 1998). Communication facilitates coordinated social action. As revealed by Leeper (1996), communication is necessary in decision making and as an organizational process. This ultimately leads to an understanding between public organizations. According Jönhill (2003), the existence and form of organization is based on decisions. Organizations cannot stop making decisions; otherwise, they will cease to exist as an organization. From Luhman's point of view, decisions are the medium of communication and the organization requires communication that results in decisions.

Luhmann views the organization not only as the social system but also the communication system. Communicative systems operate closed systems, but they are cognitively open and structurally joined to one another. Communication systems are autopoietic, meaning that they have a permanent structure and they have the ability to reproduce structures and elements. The organizations in this study are defined as systems formed by decisions and decision making and that communicating decision is needed to maintain their autopoiesis nature.

Luhmann (2003) argues that organization is a reproduction through a decision-making process, in which new decisions and reproduction are required. Each decision opens the possibilities and options for a new one, and the decision is not a replication of the previous decision. Organizations as closed systems also make decisions as a consideration, meaning that organizations learn from their own actions.

Political Significance, for example the languishing bowl ceremony and patron client Nationalism power.

Conceptually, local wisdom is part of culture. Haryati Subadio (1986: 18-19 in Barata, 2016) said that local wisdom (local genius) as a whole includes, may be even can be considered the same as cultural identity or personality of a nation. Meanwhile the concept of local wisdom (local genius) proposed by Quaritch Wales is".... the sum of cultural characteristics which the vast majority of people have in common as a result of their experiences in early life".

Meanwhile, according to Poespowardojo (in Astra, 2004: 114 in Barata, 2016) local wisdom has intrinsic qualities which include: 1) being able to withstand external culture; 2) has the ability to accommodate external culture elements; 3) has the ability to integrate elements of outside culture into native culture; 4) able to control; 5) able to give direction to the development of culture. Based on that local wisdom can be interpreted as human and community policy by relying on philosophies, values, ethics, ways, and institutions that traditionally manage various natural resources, biological resources, human resources, and resources culture for the preservation of these rich sources for sustainable survival.

In the context of such terminology, when a political party will determinewho will be chosen as a candidate for Governer regrnt or Mayor, the local values from which they come must be considered or taken into consideration.

PDI-Perjuangan as a Political Organization

Following the 'fall' of President Soeharto on May 21, 1998, consequently a new government had to be set up right away. The only constitutional mechanism for government change is by holding General Election. So, in order to get around the law so that Megawati's Indonesian

Democratic Party can join the General Election in 1999, it changed its name to *PDI-Perjuangan* (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*; Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle), precisely on February 14, 1999 at Istora Senayan, Jakarta.

To date, the *PDI Perjuangan* has held Congress five times, the First congress (Bali, 2000), the Second Congress (Semarang, 2005), the Third Congress (Sanur Bali, 2010) and the fourth Congress (Sanur Bali, 2015) and the latest congress also in Bali (August, 2019). But, ironically having held five congresses, the *PDI-Perjuangan* has never regenerated its top command. The chairperson of one Congress to another was still held by Megawati Sukarnoputri. Although it was ranked first in the 1999 election (33.74%), the trend continued to decline in the next two elections in 2004 (18.53%) and in 2009 only obtained less than 15% (14.03%). However, in the 2014 election, it gained addition to become 109 seats (18.95%) and 128 seats in 2019 (19,33%). The following is a complete table of obtained seats of *PDI* (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*; Indonesian Democratic Party) and *PDI-Perjuangan* (1977-2019)

Table 1
Obtained seats of *PDI / PDI-Perjuangan* from one Election to another Election (1977-2019)

Name of Political Party	1977	1982	1987	1992	1997	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019
Golkar	232	242	299	282	325	120	128	107	91	85
PPP	99	94	61	62	89	58	58	37	39	19
PDI/PDI Perjuangan	29	24	40	50	11	153	109	95	109	128
PKB						51	52	27	47	58
PAN						34	25	43	49	44
PBB						13				0
P. Demokrat							57	150	61	54
PKS							45	57	40	50
Gerindra								26	73	78
Hanura								18	16	0
Berkarya										0
PSI										0
Perindo										0
PKPI										0
Garuda										0

Source: LPU dan KPU Indonesia

Meanwhile, in the 2014 legislative election, *Partai Bulan Bintang* (*PBB*; Star Crescent Party) only obtained 1,825,750 or 1.46% of the votes and *PKPI* was only able to obtain 1,143,094 or 0.91% of the votes, automatically not meeting the the parliament treshold of 3, 5%, resulting that both political parties have no legislative representation. In 2019 General Election, it was even more tragic. There are 7 political parties that did not get seats in the DPR, because the seven political parties did not pass the electoral threshold by 4%.

The *PDI-Perjuangan* has five levels of structure, i.e. *DPP* (*Dewan Pimpinan Pusat*; Central Executive Board), *DPD* (*Dewan Pimpinan Daerah*; Regional Executive Board) and *DPC* (*Dewan Pimpinan Cabang*; Branch Executive Board). The last level is still further divided into *PAC* (*Pengurus Anak Cabang*, the Sub-Branch Board at sub-district level) and the *PR* (*Pengurus Ranting*; Twig Board at village / *kelurahan* level). East Java *DPD* is one of the 34 *DPD*s under the *PDI-Perjuangan* .

East Java *DPD* itself has at least 38 *DPC*, of which each *DPC* has some total number of *PAC*s and *PR*s that varies depending on the number of sub-districts and villages in the region. Especially for East Java *DPD*, the *PDI Perjuangan* has 34 *DPC* (Branch Board) and 665 *PAC* (Branch Subsidiary Board). As a case in point, in the *DPC* of Kediri, the *PDI-Perjuangan* has 3 subsidiaries, namely *PAC* of Kediri city, *PAC* of Mojoroto and *PAC* of Pesantren.

Pemilihan Kepala Daerah (*Pilkada*; Election of Regional Head)
In line with the implementation of regional autonomy, the role of the Regional Head is expected to be able to understand quickly and appropriately the changes that occur in national and international perspectives. Successful adjustments to change will be largely determined by the Regional Heads (Governors, Regents and Mayors) as to what extent they can develop the vision and mission of the organization. Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads have a very strategic role in the development of democracy, justice, equity, community welfare, maintaining a harmonious relationship between the central and regional governments and interregions to maintain the unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. (Bratakusumah and Solihin, 2002: 61).

Pursuant to Law no. 32 of 2004, it stipulates that Governors, Regents and Mayors as heads of provincial, district and municipal governments shall be elected democratically, i.e. elected directly by the people. Direct election of regional heads is a manifestation of the implementation of democracy that places the sovereignty of the people as supremacy. Direct local elections will establish close emotional connection between the people and their leaders. It encourages the implementation of democratic and participatory governance.

Direct election of regional heads provides some advantages: firstly, elected regional head will have a strong mandate and legitimacy because it is supported by the people who vote directly. Legitimacy is indispensable to a government in a political and economic crisis. The crisis of legitimacy that undermines the leadership of regional head will lead to political and economic instability in the region. Secondly, elected regional head does not need to be bound by any party concessions or political factions that have nominated him. It means that elected regional head is above all interests and can bridge various interests. If the elected regional heads cannot overcome the interests of political parties, the policies adopted tend to compromise the interests of the political parties and are often opposed to the interests of the people. Thirdly, the direct election of regional heads is more accountable than any other systems that have ever been used since the people do not have to hand over their voices to parliamentarians partially or fully.

The people can make their choices based on the interests and judgments toward the candidates. If the elected Regional Head does not meet the expectations of the people, then in the next election, the candidate will not be re-elected. This principle is the simplest and most

understandable principle of oversight and accountability by the people and politicians. Fourthly, Checks and balances between legislative and executive bodies could be better. With the direct election of regional heads, the power and position of regional head is so strong that the *DPRD* (Regional People's Representative Assembly) as a regional legislative body cannot force the regional head on a policy or press the regional head to meet the wishes and demands of the *DPRD*. Thus, the regional head can work quietly to implement the work program without being disturbed by the demands of the *DPRD*. Nevertheless, the regional head must still pay attention to the opinion of the *DPRD* related to the implementation of the function of *DPRD* as stipulated in legislation. Fifthly, the criteria of candidates for regional heads can be directly assessed by the people who will vote. Because the people who will determine their own regional head, the people can determine the ideal criteria of a candidate for the regional head. With the criteria

determined by the people themselves, the people will vote one of the candidates for the regional head. Thus, the choice of the people is determined by the people themselves.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research method is a case study. According to Yin (2011), case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates phenomena in the real-life context, whereby the boundaries between phenomena and the contexts are not discriminately evident, and whereby multiple sources of evidence are used. Case studies are appropriate when the subject of an inquiry deals with how or why, if the researcher has little chance of controlling the event to be investigated and if the focus of his research rests on the contemporary phenomena in the real-life context. Steps of Cases Study Research
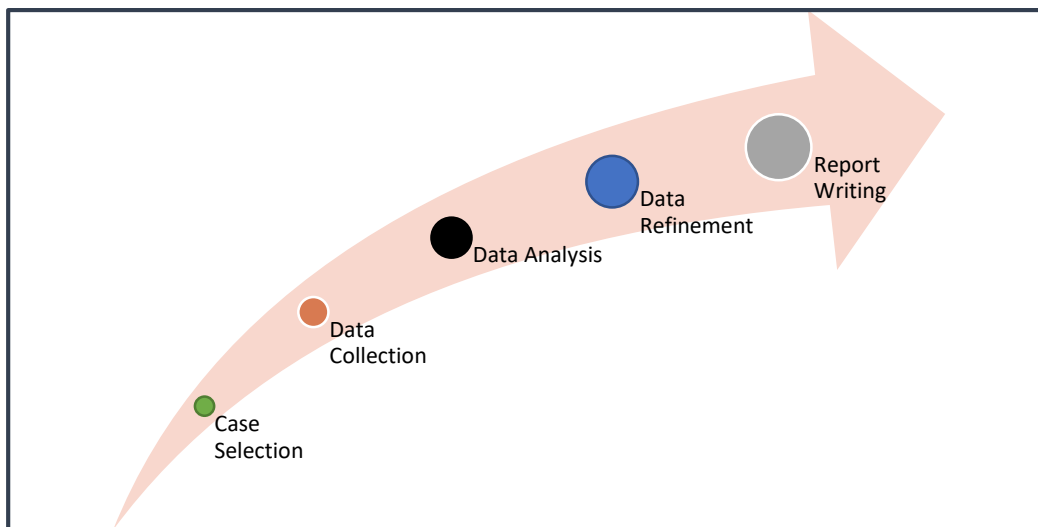
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS The use of social media as a platform in pre-decision making

The development of technology and communication has been adopted by many organizations, including political organizations. In carrying out their command and coordination, *PDI-P* officials have taken advantage of social media, including to disseminate information. Social media is used by the boards from *DPC*, *DPD* and *DPP* levels even ad hoc committees or field managements also create Whatapps (WA) themselves. The role of social media in disseminating and managing information within *PDI-P* becomes significant for exploring the ideas or considerations of party members. As revealed by Kusnadi, Chairman of *DPD PDI-P*

East Java as well as Vice Chairman of East Java *DPRD*,

If only technical issues, certainly we use the existing communication tools. Telephone, WA, also including SMS, precisely all the communication media. But those are only for technical matters.

As such was also delivered by Yordan Batara Goa, deputy secretary of the *DPD PDIP* East Java program,

So there is WA. So the DPP has a WA group, such as Secretary General. It has a WA group with all Indonesian secretaries. That the communication through WA is very intense, yes. We also have a lot of diplomacy group WAs, both formal and informal. In the informal WA, the participants could be freely talking from A to Z. Even with the informal WA group, I find it interesting, although an informal WA, in fact it is very powerful one.

In determining candidates for the election of regional head, party officials have used social media as a platform that can spread information, ideas and alternative considerations. Social media allows party officials to communicate directly with officials across different levels without being restricted by space and time. Social media becomes a space for dialogue and discussion on fundamental topics before formulating policies in formal meetings or plenary sessions. Such utilization is at the same time an evidence that political organization has also digitized internal party communications.

Bottom-up or upward communication as the basis of communication in decision making

Bottom up or upward communication is a flow of communication, whereby messages flow from subordinates to superiors. In other words, the flow of information goes from the lower to the higher levels. Within this flow, messages generally contain reports, completed tasks, questions that are not or less clear about the methods and work procedures, employee's responsibilities to the leadership. Upward communication is a feedback from downward communication so as to enable the lower levels of the organization provide suggestions and raise questions to a higher level.

Decision making in determining candidates in the election of regional head has been regulated in the political party's regulation. However, in its implementation, the party officials provide an opportunity to the party members at the *DPC* level to recruit prospective candidates to be proposed for the

nomination. Based on the interviews with the informants, the researchers see that the initiation of candidate selection process begins with the *DPD* first. As such was explained by Jordan Batara Goa,

"So we wrote to the 38 DPC districts of East Java asking them to propose names through the mechanism, as I recall through the DPC meeting. Why is that way, because that's the mechanism as set out in the party's regulation"

Communication mechanism begins with instructions from the level of organization board in the *DPD* to the organization board at the level of *DPC* to recruit and propose prospective pairs of candidates for regional leaders in the election of regional heads.

This top-down communication flow is accommodated and regulated in the party's regulation. This means that the party provides access and guarantee to members to participate in the decision-making process associated with the elections. This was also confirmed by Kusnadi as follows, *So there is a DPP regulation, which, what do you call it, governs how we are supposed to recruit candidates for regional heads as well as vice regional heads who will be nominated by PDI-Perjuangan. There it is. Well, principally the regulation set out the process of recruitment and screening.*

Moreover, the issue can be seen through the visualization of the image below :
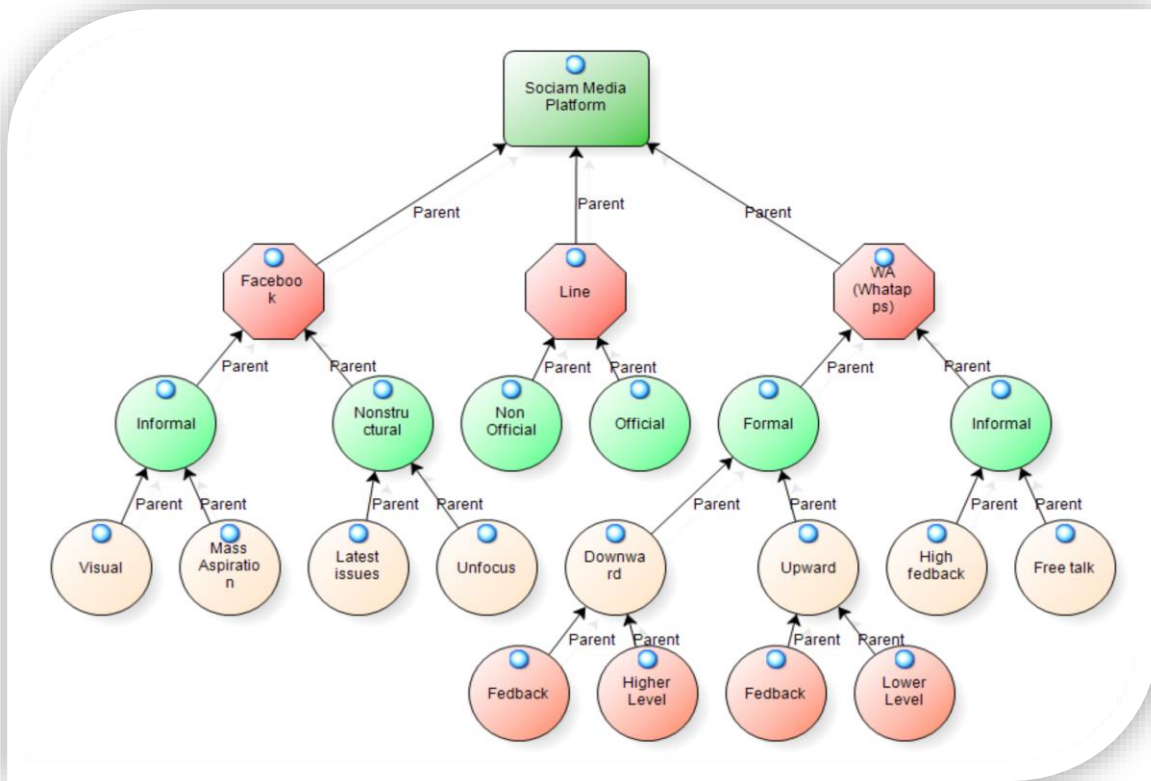

Fig. 1

Political parties like other organizations must have management supported by the party's structural ranks. The strength of structural functions will provide a conducive climate so that coordination and negotiation can be implemented properly. The party's structural roles should have a good understanding of the duties and functions of the political party in carrying out the party's vision and mission as a political force.

As a political organization, a proposal or a recruitment from the lower to the upper level is a manifestation of the implementation of democratization within the party's internal environment. Upward flow of communication is considered effective in order to recruit the best cadres of the party to join the competition in the election. This value is then becomes a characteristic of building up the internal party communication network resulting in the formation of the patterns of the party's communication. In this case, the

patterns of communication adopted by the political party identify their roles as a representation of democratization.

Communication media in the decision-making process

Organizational communication media is needed as a channel to deliver formal information within the organization. Within the organization, formal and informal information flow. Formal communication is a communication agreed upon by members of the organization to achieve the interests of the organization. In formal communication, it generally contains organizational mechanisms, productivity, and various work oriented to organizational goals. In the decisionmaking processes related to the selection of candidate pairs of regional heads, the communication media used by the *PDI-P* officials is a written or traditional communication media as well as face-to-face communication. The following is an explanation given by Yordan Batara Goa:

But in principle we open the registration, at the same time, we write to the DPCs asking them to propose names ...... Well, then the Central Executive Board conducted a fit and proper test as well as a psychological test held by HIPSI, Indonesian Psychological Association. In that case, they become the authority of the Party's Central Executive Board. As for the provision, it is certainly based on the track record, achievement, the results of the fit and proper test,and psychological test.

Jordan asserted that the traditional communication media that is written becomes a communication medium used in the initial process of the pre-elections of regional heads. In the next stage, the face-to-face media is used in the selection process of the candidate. This shows that traditional communication media is still the mainstream media adopted by the *PDI-P* in the process of nominating regional heads. As such was further affirmed by Kusnadi:

Well, as for the public, the so-called benchmark of openness, we have to make an ad. We have to advertise. In the mass media of the community, or generally in various media, to inform that PDI-Perjuangan is doing the process of recruiting candidates for regional head.

Based on Kusnadi's explanation, it can be concluded that in the electoral decision-making process, *PDI-P* uses various communication media in accordance with the progress and needs. Advertisement is a form of mass communication that is non-personal, persuasive and disseminating information. The advertisement was deliberately designed to convey a message to the internal and external public of *PDI-P*

regarding the activities being undertaken by the *PDI-P* in the process of the election of regional head.

Not less important is that *PDI-P* also uses the results of independent agency surveys, so that the decision to nominate a candidate for the regional head could not be wrong. Minimally, the survey results are used as a guideline of the electability of candidates in the election of regional head. Bambang DH, one of the officials of the Central Executive Board said in more details:

"I usually check survey agencies when presenting research data. First, I check the survey data, whether there is a difference, and I compare, betweeen the sampling and the population, to see whether the differences are in the margin error, in alpha. They could have some differences if the samplings were justified. Then I read and read some other stuff. So, honestly speaking, I cannot be cheated. "

The fact further underscored that *PDI-P* as a political party, when making a decision, must be rational and not merely dependant on its political instincts. Bambang adds his explanation as follows:

"I also teach mathematical statistics. So I can learn whether a survey is right or wrong. So it works like this, knowledge usually, knowledge for sure, before becoming scientific, it examines natural phenomena. Philosophically, science seeks to predict nature. If we can identify the behavior of nature, macro or micro, then we can see its patterns, and especially if it could be up to the formula, that's really amazing".

Through the visualization of the image below, it is very clear that social media element has its own role :
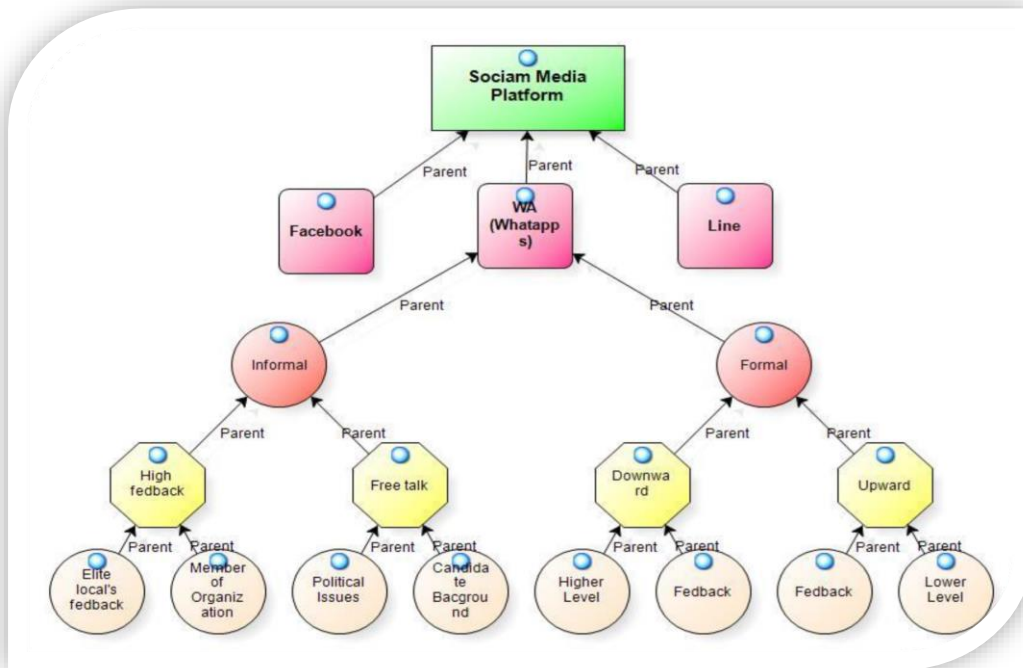

Fig. 2

In essence, a combination of communication media platforms and survey results can be used as a benchmark for a political decision-making. The mechanism is not just following the trend, but the real needs in the field.

The above-mentioned becomes the reason why the decision of determining and nominating candidates for regional leaders by *PDI- Perjuangan* is not easy. In the 2018 gubernatorial election level, for example, several names were identified to be prospective candidates for governor and vice governor such as

Kusnadi, Said Abdullah, Edy Rumpoko, Sri Oetari, Syaifullah Yusuf or Gus Ipul. Budi Sulistyono (Regent Head of Ngawi), Suhandoyo (*DPC* of Lamongan), Azwar Anas (Regent Head of Banyuwangi). But only six people who took the form, and, finally, just four returned and payed the administration fee of 100 million IDR. The *DPD* then sent the names of the prospective candidates to the *DPP*. The names who got a letter of recommendation from the *DPP*, then became the pair of prospective candidates who was entitled to register to the Provincial *KPU* (Provincial Commision of General Election).

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, although at the level of the Branch Executive Board (Regent/municipality) and the Regional Executive Board (*DPD*), several names of prospective candidates for Regional Heads appear, but the final decision as who will run for the Election of Regional Heads remains in the hands of the Central Executive Board.

The mechanism for the selection of candidates for Regional Heads has absorbed the aspirations from the bottom. Each level of the Executive Board of the political party is given the opportunity to propose prospective names for regional head candidates.

Throughout the stages of selection, stating from the selection process up to the issuance of recommendations from the *DPP*, there is absolutely no political costs, If there is information related to the handover of some money to the *DPD*, it is solely for the administration of the selection processes up to the final decision.

Acknowledgments

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